Mrs. Harrop A. Freeman
103 Needham Place
Ithaca, New York

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then he showed Four Lights when he wished them to set full sail and follow in his wake. —Magellan.

FOUR LIGHTS

Vol. XV, No. 8 February, 1956

LETTER TO CONGRESS PRESENTS WILPF POSITION IN FOUR VITAL AREAS

Each year at this time the WILPF sends a message to Congress, summarizing its views and suggestions for measures necessary to advance the cause of peace. A copy of this message has been sent to each Congressman and the President of the U. S., and is signed by Annalee Stewart, Legislative Secretary, and Meta Riseman, President, U. S. Section, WILPF.

The events of the past year, more especially the response of the peoples of the world to the Summit conference, have brought recognition by world leaders that there is no alternative to peace. Because of the influence of the United States in world affairs Congress has a great responsibility in helping to create and strengthen the conditions of peace. All steps designed to abolish war and establish conditions of peace must be taken. Such steps should include: (1) the conclusion of a comprehensive disarmament agreement; (2) increased bilateral and multilateral economic, rather than military, aid; (3) encouragement for the give and take of negotiation of political differences; and (4) support for the aspirations of peoples for freedom abroad and at home.

The Second Session of the 84th Congress provides an opportunity to complete the unfinished business and to consolidate the gains achieved in the First Session. Because much that has been accomplished and that will be considered concerns the major fields of interest of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, we again seek respectfully to present our position on several of these vital issues.

DISARMAMENT

We welcome the concern shown by the appointment of a Special Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament. The suspension of our previous commitments in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, as announced on September 6, 1955, has helped to hinder international negotiation. We therefore ask Congress to consider carefully any new (or previous) disarmament proposals which may be recommended by the President's Special Assistant on Disarmament, with a view to early clarification of our country's position.

In this consideration, we would point out two facts: First, the unthinkable horror of a thermonuclear war is no guarantee that it will not occur. Second, since completely controllable disarmament may be impossible, we must be prepared to settle for less than perfect control and to take some calculated risks in order to avoid the far-greater risks inherent in our present course. As the first nation to use atomic weapons, our country has a great responsibility to help find the way that this power may be used to serve man's needs rather than his fears.

We believe that the United States should be ready to support a ban on nuclear weapons' testing — at least until results are available from current investigations by the United Nations of the effects of these tests on present and future health of the human race. The goal must be a comprehensive disarmament agreement, including prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and their conversion to peacetime use, together with the elimination of all national arms and armed forces, with controls to the maximum possible extent.

THREATS TO THE PEACE

We believe that tensions in the Middle East will only be aggravated by continued sale of war material to Arab states and/or Israel. We urge that Congress support any measures to prohibit or ban the sale of arms and encourage, instead, continued offers of mediation and good offices through the UN and support economic aid to such countries through loans and grants. United Nations Technical Assistance programs, specialized agencies, and other international organs. The future of Formosa, the increasing tension in Africa and Southeast Asia, likewise, are possible threats to the peace, unless effort is made to settle their political and economic problems with a more realistic diplomacy. A rearmed, divided Germany is also a threat to the peace. Hence, as a step toward universal disarmament, we urge Congress to support efforts to ascertain the will of the German people as to unification and neutralization of their territory, rather than rearmament.

WORLD DEVELOPMENT

We believe that disarmament depends largely on a proper psychological climate which can be created mainly by resolution of political differences that may have a social or economic basis. Therefore, we urge Congress to support programs which may alleviate human suffering, raise standards of living, and lead to the betterment of peoples everywhere. To this end, we recommend specifically United States support of the establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) as expressed in the United Nations General Assembly December 9, 1955; support for increased technical assistance programs of the United Nations; support for private financing of economic development through the International Finance Corporation (IFC); support for the Organization for Trade Cooperation (H. R. 5550) to administer the General Agreement for Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and facilitate its operation, and support for an increased International Exchange of Persons program.*

(Cont. p. 2, col. 2)

* *Refer to page 4, col. 3.*

FOUR LIGHTS

Owned and published by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom: National Literature Department, 2006 Walnut Street, Phila. 3, Pa. Entered as second class matter May 12, 1942, at the post office, Phila., Pa., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Pub. monthly except Aug. and Sept. Subscr. 50c. Single, 5c. National Legislative Office, 214 2nd St. N. E., Washington 2, D. C.

Editor, Josephine Lipton

Associate Editors

Lucelia Daldy Beatrice Solomon

Toward a More Positive Policy in the Middle East

Many specific conflicts and tensions in the Middle East cry out for consideration and constructive action. Essential for us in the WILPF at the moment is to try and state a policy on the Middle East by which we might judge developments there and on which we might base proposals of negotiation and peaceful settlement.

While we neither ignore nor excuse other Powers for their part in the increased tensions in the Middle East, we cannot but believe that the policy of our own government has played its part in increasing the dilemma as well as the actual danger which now obtains there. In the effort to secure military bases the United States has subordinated the considerations and claims of decency and democracy essential to real security. Contrary to our avowed traditional position we have appeared to be blind to the revolt against colonialism now growing in the Middle East as well as in Asia and Africa—we have shown amazingly little understanding of the needs and longings of the people. Our part, along with óthers, in the race to establish military blocks, has not only divided the Arab States themselves, but has greatly aggravated the fear and anxiety between the Arabs and Israel. War has become a real threat.

Although we must not ignore or minimize the unfortunate developments, intensified if not introduced by the sale of arms to Egypt, we in the WILPF shall not resort to the temptation to blame others of the great Powers for the increased tensions there. We shall confine ourselves to a consideration of our own national policy which is after all, the only one which we can ultimately be held responsible.

As a first step we recommend the cessation of the sale and shipment of arms to any government in the Middle East. We urge an expanded program of economic and social development carried on through the United Nations, since we believe that to improve these conditions and to begin to meet such needs would go a long way toward creating the conditions in which further necessary negotiations might take place.

Without going into specific details we suggest: 1) an arms embargo as a first step toward preventing armed conflict; 2) a serious effort to provide both the opportunity and necessary machinery for direct Arab-Israel negotiations; 3) some final solution to the problem of the Arab refugees.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

Because we believe in the fundamental worth and dignity of every human being, we urge Congress to do what it can to respect and preserve those inalienable rights set forth in our Declaration of Independence and in the Amendments to our Constitution. To this end, we recommend that Congress enact the long overdue legislation concerning civil liberties and civil rights.* We would oppose the authorization of capital punishment for any crime. We would urge the introduction of a bill for the abolition of all capital punishment.

We congratulate the Senate on the work of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. We trust that as a result of those hearings will come legislation necessary to protect the Constitutional rights of citizens from violation in loyalty-security procedures.

APPROPRIATIONS

Finally, we would ask that every effort be made to reduce wastful expenditures. We view with alarm any increase in military expenditures and the continued reliance of the United States on a war economy. In view of the changes in the world scene, with the gradual faltering steps toward abolishing war, we call on this Congress to reverse the trend toward increasing military expenditures and make definite efforts toward conversion to a peacetime economy. The challenge is now on the economic and political, rather than military factors. Hence we urge increased sums for the constructive programs for world peace, such as economic aid, technical cooperation, and the like.* Again, we we say "Millions for peace, but not one cent for war preparation."

We urge an honest scrutiny of present foreign policies with a view to altering them to conform with the crying neel of the world for peace and bread. The peace of the world may be in your hands. We trust that you will have the insight, understanding, courage, and patience to complete the tasks before you.

Meta Riseman
President, U. S. Section

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Legislative Secretary, U. S. Section

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Balance Sheet of the Tenth Session of the UN General Assembly

By GLADYS D. WALSER
WILPF Consultant to the UN

In his closing speech on December 20, 1955, Dr. Jose Maza of Chile, President of the U.N. General Assembly, called the 10th Session a "dramatic" one. While it cannot be said that an ideal form of co-existence among nations has been achieved, it is not over-optimistic to say there are grounds for great hopes of the future. Dr. Maza made special mention of the three fundamental achievements — the unanimous adoption of some extremely important resolutions of a political and economic character which have had a favorable effect on world opinion; the new agreements designed to combine scientific efforts so that nuclear energy may be directed toward peaceful purposes for the common good; the admission of sixteen States into the world organization.

The following new members in order of their applications for membership which were voted into the UN on December 14, 1955, were: Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos, Spain. The final outcome of six intense days of debate in three organs of the UN was not all that had been hoped for, but there was, nevertheless, rejoicing over the extension, by the addition of sixteen new States, of the World organization from sixty to seventy-six members.

HIGH DRAMA IN THE UN

This drama, played in four acts on three stages (the Aad Hoc Political Committee, the General Assembly and the Security Council) was one full of suspense and excitement which ran the gamut from high hopes to deep despair.

The first act took place in the Ad Hoc Political Committee on December 7, 1955 with the adoption of a 28 power draft resolution (whose chief architect was Paul Martin of Canada) under which the General Assembly would request the Security Council (which must first approve admission of new members) "to consider, in the light of the general opinion in favor of the widest possible membership of the United Nations, the pending applications for membership of all eighteen countries (the sixteen listed above plus Japan and Outer Mongolia)."

The second act came in the plenary session of the General Assembly on December 8, when the resolution which had acquired 41 sponsors out of the 60 UN member States was adopted.

The third act, played in the Security Council on December 10, almost turned the drama into tragedy. In his opening statement, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, President of the Council, expressed the strong belief of the majority that the deadlock of many years could be broken and no further delays should be entertained in view of a workable solution of the membership issue. Mr. Kruznetsov repeated the Soviet delegation's opinion that favored the admission of "all eighteen candidates without exception." Sir Pierson Dixon of the United Kingdom said that while Britain would accept the 18 candidates, there were certain ones about which reservations were held.

The climax was reached when Dr. Tsiang of Nationalist China proposed the admission of the Republic of Korea and South Vietnam (both of which had been specifically excluded from the resolution before the Committee). His maneuver brought the first Soviet veto. The President of the Security Council then began to read the names of the 18 candidates. When the name of the Peoples Republic of Mongolia (Outer Mongolia) was read out, Dr. Tsiang's hand was raised in opposition—thus wrecking the whole carefully worked out plan for furthering universality. As a consequence, the Soviet delegate vetoed all the rest. Mr. Lodge of the U. S., who made no mention of Nationalist China's devastating act (for which the USSR blamed not only Dr. Tsiang but Mr. Lodge's encouragement) laid the failure of the issue solely on the Soviet Union.

On December 13, 1955 the Security Council voted on 20 membership applications (the 18 in the original resolution plus the Republic of Korea and South Vietnam introduced by Dr. Tsiang) but none were approved for recommendation to the General Assembly. Thus the curtain fell on act three.

During the thirty hours that elapsed before the curtain rose again on December 14, 1955 on the same scene—the Security Council—there was intense activity behind the scenes. According to Dr. Maza, Presidentof the Assembly, the Soviet Union's amazing turn-about on admission of new members, was the result of Prime Minister Nehru's great gesture in persuading the leaders of the USSR to propose the admission of 16 members, the two exceptions being Outer Mongolia and Japan.

When Mr. Sobolev of the USSR requested an "urgent meeting" of the Council it was immediately called and the 16 new members were voted into the UN. That very evening the General Assembly approved the admission of the sixteen new States. Regrets were expressed at the exclusion of Japan, but attempts on the part of the U.S. and U.K. to get through a resolution endorsing her membership failed. The Soviet Union insisted that both Outer Mongolia and Japan should be admitted next year.

The newly elected members were officially welcomed and warmly greeted by the old members and took their seats on the floor of the Assembly. For the next six days, until the adjournment on December 20th, they took part in the proceedings, making their maiden speeches by thanking the UN on the final day. There will now be a new balance in the organs of the UN, enlarged to coincide with the increase in membership. (WILPF welcomes the possibility of more independent thinkers and voters who will increase the democratic aspects of the United Nations and reduce the pressure of Big Power domination.)

Krishna Menon of India, speaking with the courage of his conviction, blamed Nationalist China's veto against Outer Mongolia for the exclusion of Japan and Mongolia. "It is for the Assembly now," he declared, "to see that representation inside the UN comes to reflect the real world situation. While the admission of the 16 new States to some degree corrects the imbalance of Asian membership in the UN, India hopes to see the situation even more corrected in a very short time when China is properly represented."

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Another important decision of the 10th Session was the unanimous adoption of a resolution endorsing the progress made toward the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency which would have authority over the use of Atomic energy for the good of mankind. The composition of the agency was to be set up such a way as to embody the common and equal interest of ALL countries. The sponsors however did not include the Peoples' Republic of China among the "all."

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(Cont. on p. 4, col. 2)

THE GREAT GLASS HOUSE

By Evelyn Peat

Accredited Observer
British Section, WILPF

I wonder if the members of the U. S. Section realize how fortunate they are in having the United Nations in their midst?

I was first impressed by the importance attached to the work of the Non-Governmental Organizations, as we are called. When people back home asked me what I was going to do at the UN, my reply was vague as I did not really know myself.

Before long, however, everything became clearer and I realized what a vital part these NGO's play in the whole UN setup. We are the link between the public and the delegates; we are also the interpreters of the organization to the public through the medium of the societies we represent. I found there was a whole department of the Secretariat to deal with us and weekly briefings given us by prominent people from the President of the General Assembly downwards, with a valuable question period to follow. I attended informal meetings held by Roger Baldwin, Chairman of the International League for the Rights of Man, where interest was centered on colonial problems and as these are a grave concern of the British Section, they were particularly valuable to me.

All this served as a useful background to the debates themselves, for it was these great debates that formed my fundamental impression. In retrospect the level was highest in the first month when constructive statesmanship brought unanimous decisions on the two atomic energy items—that of the setting up of the International Atomic Energy Agency and of the scientific committee to investigate the effects of atomic radiation. The very immensity of this power they were endeavoring to harness for the good of humanity brought forth co-operation and a due sense of responsibility.

Personalities emerged as the weeks went by. Paul Martin of Canada and Krishna Menon of India were the great conciliators. Jules Moch of France was seen to be essential to the Disarmament debate. The Bandung countries (so called because the influence of that great conference of Asian and African nations was distinctly felt throughout the Assembly) gave me the impression of calm self-confidence. They know that the future holds developing greatness for them, while the Western Powers seem sometimes to be on the defensive.

One realizes that the supreme value of the UN, where East and West talk together, work together, and meet together socially, lies in the fact that there can, in fact must, be created a family with common interests, a round table rather than two sides. One catches glimpses of it already here in this great glass house by the river.

We recommend for support in the Human Rights Area:

S. 1206, H. R. 4430, 838, 7999, 8341, 8392, revisions of Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952.
S. 2113, 2812, 2813, amendment of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.
S. 899, creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission.
S. 900, H. R. 3563, 7879, anti-lynching bills.
S. 901, H. R. 1600, anti-poll tax bills.
S. 903, H. R. 3476, voting protection bills.
S. 904 to strengthen laws on convict labor, peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.
S. 902, 906, 907, H. R. 8350, omnibus civil rights bills.
S. 905, H. R. 3580, amendments to existing civil-rights statutes.
S. 657, 908, H. R. 691, anti-Jim Crow travel bills.
S. 1089, H. R. 5205 (passed House), H. R. 5399, protection of servicemen bills.

We urge support for:

The President's Fund for Asian Economic Development.
The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.
The Refugee Relief Act.
The payment of ocean freight on relief shipping.
Contributions to United Nations Programs:
- Technical Assistance
- International Children's Fund
- Refugee Fund
- Relief Works Agency for Palestine Refugees
- International Finance Corporation
- SUNFED

Contributions to international organizations for their regular activities.
United States participation at international conferences.

(Further information on bills will be given in succeeding issues of FOUR LIGHTS.)

The Life and Letters of Mary Emma Woolley

By JEANNETTE MARKS
Public Affairs Press

The Life and Letters of Mary Emma Woolley is a delightful book with an inspiring message for all women. The part that the WILPF played in having Mary Woolley appointed to the Geneva Conference in 1932 is of special interest to us as well as the mention of Emily Greene Balch and Hannah Hull.

The book is written with warmth and humor, and though occasionally sentimental it portrays a woman of tremendous character, indefatigable in her ceaseless work for peace and world government. She made a real contribution to the academic world, and her influence along religious, civic and social lines was widely felt.

The chapters dealing with her early life are no less interesting than her development as an outstanding President of Mount Holyoke for 37 years. It was genuine grief and disappointment that she was to see a man succeeding her, and in great detail we are told how women from almost every country in the world lent her their support and shared her feeling of injustice. Perhaps there is a disproportionate amount on this subject but it was a matter of principle with her that a woman should continue the tradition of Mount Holyoke which Mary Lyon and she had established.

The last years of her life demonstrated an amazing victory over illness and incapacity, for her courage and will power carried on until the end. Altogether a satisfying and beautiful book.

Review by Stella Moos.

Balance Sheet

(Cont. from p. 3)

On the question of disarmament, much advance toward narrowing the areas of disagreement had been made up to the time of the Summit Conference. With the introduction of new plans (the Eisenhower, Faure and Eden proposals) there was a concentration on these instead of on a comprehensive disarmament program. In the words of President Maza, "Disarmament should be carried out on a basis of trust and there will be little progress until the point is reached where terror and fear have been laid to rest." This means primarily an end to the atomoc armaments race, and the abolition of war as an instrument for settling differences."

All in all, however, the Assembly did well in this difficult period between the end of the cold war and the first faltering steps toward peace.

Literature Corner

Cathedral of Compassion:

A dramatic outline of the Life of Jane Addams, by Violet Oakley, $3.50. This book, conceived and written in the deep appreciation for the work of Jane Addams in her lifetime, and of the WILPF in its 40 years of Progress toward peace, is as lovely to look at as it is to read. A valued addition to any library, and a perfect gift for any occasion. Now available for immediate delivery.

Political Action Handbook:

How to be politically effective. This Handbook has been prepared by the National Legislative Office of the WILPF, and includes important advice on WHO, WHEN AND HOW to influence in our legislative bodies. Included with the Handbook is a Directory of the 84th Congress, descriptive charts on the organization of the Department of State, the UN System, and How a Bill Becomes a Law. Extremely helpful in even the most minimum political action. 50c.

Turning Point Toward Peace:

A non-partisan study to help the independent voter in supporting a positive American program for peace. James P. Warburg; published by Current Affairs Press. Mr. Warburg, who has a background of varied experience in public affairs, ranging from banker to free-lance writer, analyzes the conditions contingent on building toward peace in this changing world. A special arrangement makes it possible to offer this booklet for only the cost of handling: 10c.

ORDER THE ABOVE from the National Literature Office, 2006 Walnut Street, Phila. 3, Pa.